

## Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY CARACAS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2817  
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 CARACAS 5933

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT PINS PGOV VE  
SUBJECT: CAMPAIGN '78 - THE BACKSTRETCH

REF: CARACAS 4074 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: ALMOST THREE MONTHS INTO THE CAMPAIGN, AD  
CANDIDATE LUIS PINERUA ORDAZ IS NOW THE MAN TO BEAT. HE  
HAS PULLED AHEAD OF COPEI'S LUIS HERRERA CAMPINS NOT ONLY  
IN THE POLLS, ALBEIT ONLY SLIGHTLY, BUT ALSO IN TERMS OF  
ORGANIZATION, PROGRAMS, AND MONEY. HERRERA'S CAMPAIGN  
REMAINS BESET WITH ORGANIZATIONAL SQUABBLES, CONFUSED  
PROPAGANDA, A DIFFUSE CANDIDATE IMAGE AND LESS THAN  
CLEARLY DEFINED PROGRAMS. WINSOME DIEGO ARRIA'S VAUNTED  
MEDIA SKILLS HAVE YET TO BE DOMONSTRATED, AND ONE POLL  
INDICATES THAT ARRIA'S POTENTIAL APPEAL IS MINIMAL. HE  
AND HIS MEDIA SUPPORTERS WILL EBE HARD PUT TO MAKE HIM A  
"NEW FORCE" IN VENEZUELAN POLITICS. IN FACT, IT NOW LOOKS  
AS THOUGH MAS, FOR ALL ITS INTERNAL PROBLEMS MIGHT POSSIBLY  
PLACE THIRD, ALTHOUGH BY NO MEANS WITH ENOUGH VOTES TO  
THREATEN EITHER OF THE BIG TWO PARTIES. THE OTHER MINOR  
PARTY CANDIDATES OFFER COMIC RELIFE, AMONG OTHER REMEDIES,  
TO THE STUDIED SERIOUNESS OF PINERUA, HERRERA, ARRIA AND  
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RANGEL, THOUGHT THEY THREATEN NO ONE. WHILE IT REMAINS  
MUCH TOO EARLY TO FINALLY CALL THE RACE, IN THE BACKSTRETCH,  
THE "WHITE STABLE'S CHARGER IS DEFINITELY SETTING THE  
PACE, AND THE "GREEN" CONTENDER, EVEN WITH THE BENEFIT OF  
THE UPI "BRIEFING PAPERS LEAK" IS GOING TO HAVE TO INCREASE  
HIS STRIDE TO CATCH HIS RIVAL. END SUMMARY.

## 1. THE POLLS.

THE MARCH DATOS POLL (THE MOST RECENT RELEASED PUBLICLY) HAS THE COYEYANOS WORRIED, SINCE IT SHOWS HERRERA BEHIND BY 15 PERCENT IN THE ANDREAN REGION, AND PINERUA TRAILING HERRERA BY ONLY 4 PERCENT IN ZULIA, BOTH TRADITIONAL COPEI BASTIONS. IT ALSO DEMONSTRATES THAT PINERUA HAS A COMMANDING LEAD AMONG RURAL DWELLERS, WITH BOTH CANDIDATES NIP AND TUCK IN THE CITIES. COPEI HAS VIRTUALLY CONCEDED PRIVATELY THE EAST AND THE LLANOS, BUT MAINTAINS THAT HERRERA IS SLIGHTLY AHEAD IN THE FEDERAL DISTRICT, AND THE STATES OF MIRANDA, LARA, AND ARAGUA (THIS MEANS CARACAS AND THE OTHER WEST-CENTRAL METROPOLITAN AREAS) WHERE THE ELECTION WILL BE DECIDED (ALONG WITH ZULIA). AD, FOR ITS PART, CONCEDES NOTHING, AND IS WORKING HARD IN ZULIA AND THE MAJOR CITIES. BETANCOURT RECENTLY SPENT SEVERAL DAYS STUMPING IN LARA STATE, GOING DOOR-TO-DOOR, AND BETANCOURT CAN BE EXPECTED TO PROVIDE MORE OF THE SAME ELSEWHERE.

THE OTHER CANDIDATES DO LESS WELL. A PRIVATE GAITHER (AD POLL SHOWS ARRIA OBTAINING ONLY 100,000 VOTES NATIONALLY WHICH, IF TRUE, WOULD BE THE END OF POLITICAL CAREER. THE HEAD OF DATOS TELLS US IN CONFIDENCE THAT HIS SOUNDINGS INDICATE THAT MAS COULD GET ABOUT 10 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL VOTE (ABOUT 500,000) SINCE THE OTHER LEFTIST PARTIES' FRACTIONALISM SIMPLY WILL NOT APPEAL TO THOSE FAVORING A CONFIDENTIAL

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PROTEST VOTE AGAINST ESTABLISHMENT POLITICIANS (ARRIA FITS IN THIS CATEGORY), MIR, MEP, PCV AND MORENA BRING UP THE REAR.

## 2. PARTY MACHINERY

AD'S MACHINE CONTINUES TO ROLL. NOT ONLY IS AD'S CAMPAIGN PROPAGANDA MORE EVIDENT THAN ITS RIVALS, BUT ITS REKNOWNED APPARATUS IS RUNNING SMOOTHLY. THE PERSONAL DIVISIONS BETWEEN BETANCOURT-PINERUA SUPPORTERS ON THE ONE HAND, AND PEREZ-LUSINCHI SUPPORTERS ON THE OTHER DO APPEAR TO HAVE BEEN HEALED, AT LEAST DURING THE CAMPAIGN. PINERUA'S NOMINALLY "INDEPENT" ORGANIZATION FOR THE YOUTH VOTE "NEW FORCE-YOUTH FOR PINERUA" IS EBULLIENT, CLAIMING 300,000 SIGNATURES TO DATE, WHILE ITS COPEI COUNTERPART "NEW VOTERS FOR HERRERA" IS ALMOST MORIBUND, HAVING ALREADY SACKED ITS FIRST DIRECTOR. THIS CAN BE EXPLAINED PARTLY BY THE FACT THE AD YOUTH BUREAU IN THE PARTY STRUCTURE IS WEAK BY COMPARISON WITH THE REST OF THE PARTY, WHEREAS ITS COUNTERPART IN COPEI, THE "CHRISTIAN REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH" HAS CONSIDERABLE CLOUT INTERNALLY AND RESENTS A SEMI-AUTONOMOUS YOUTH OPERATION OUTSIDE OF ITS CONTROL. THE FOREGOING

ALSO POINTS UP A SIMPLE FACT: COPEI REMAINS THE PERSONAL VEHICLE OF RAFAEL CALDERA AS MUCH AS AD IS BETANCOURT'S. BUT BETANCOURT FULLY SUPPORTS PINERUA (SOME WOULD MAINTAIN HE IMPOSED PINERUA ON THE PARTY), WHEREAS CALDERA OPPOSED HERRERA'S CANDIDCY AT THE BEGINNING, ACCEPTED IT RELUCTANTLY AND HAS PEEVISHLY NOT GOING OUT OF HIS WAY TO CAMPAIGN FOR HERRERA. IN FACT, WHILE BETANCOURT WAS BARNSTORMING IN LARA RECENTLY, CALDERA WENT OFF TO EUROPE AND IS STILL THERE. WHILE COPEI'S CAMPAIGN MANAGERS TELL US THAT CALDERA WILL CAMPAIGN ACTIVELY LATTER, THE LACK OF PERSONAL COMMITMENT IS CLEAR AND PERHAPS EVEN PREFERRED BY HERRERA WHO WANTS VERY MUCH TO BE HIS OWN MAN. BUT THIS, IN TURN, LEADS TO SQUABBLES OVER PARTY POSITIONS, THE NAMING OF CAMPAIGN DIRECTORS AND A BARELY DISGUISED STRUGGLE BETWEEN MONTES DE OCA, CONFIDENTIAL

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HERRERA'S PERSONAL CAMPAIGN CHIEF, AND THE TOUGH PARTY REGULAR PEDRO PABLO AGUILAR, FOR AGUILAR'S KEY SECRETARY GENERALSHIP SPOT AFTER THE ELECTION PERSONAL RIVALRIES ARE NOT UNKNOWN TO AD, BUT TODAY THE ADECOS ARE OUT WORKING THE HUSTINGS, WHEREAS THE COPEYANOS GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING AS BUSY TRYING TO MANEUVER FOR POST-ELECTION SPOILS AS IN GETTING OUT THE VOTE. OF COURSE, SOME OF THIS SIMPLY REFLECTS DIFFERENT PARTY STRUCTURES, CLASS BASES, AND IDEOLOGICAL PREDISPOSITION OF THE WHITES AND THE GREENS. BUT SOME MAY BE INDEED DUE TO THE NATURE OF THE LOYAL, BUT ESSENTIALLY LUKEWARM SUPPORT OF CALDERA TO THE PARTY'S CHOSEN CANDIDATE.

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3. PROGRAMS AND IMAGES.

NEITHER PARTY HAS OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED ITS PROGRAM. BOTH ARE DUE OUT IN JULY. BUT AD'S PINERUA HAS BEEN ACTIVE GIVING SPEECHES, BILLED ADROITLY AS "SEMINARS ON NATIONAL PROBLEMS" WHICH IN ESSENCE WILL CONSTITUTE THE PARTY'S PROGRAM". TOPICS: "INFLATION, COST OF LIVING, AND CONSUMER PROTECTION," "VENEZUELAN AGRICULTURE," "VENEZUELAN INDUSTRY," "HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY," "HOUSING," "EDUCATION AND CULTURE," "PUBLIC SERVICES," AMONG OTHERS. HERRERA'S APPROACH HAS BEEN MORE ECLECTIC AND LESS FOCUSED, AND ALTHOUGH COPEI'S PROGRAM DRAFTERS COMPLETED A FIRST DRAFT OF THE PARTY PROGRAM LAST SUMMER, IT WILL NOT BE RELEASED UNTIL NEXT MONTH.

THERE IS ANOTHER DIFFERENCE IN IMAGE, BEYOND THE RHETORICAL SKILLS OF THE TWO MAJOR CANDIDATES. PINERUA HAS, BY AND LARGE, IGNORED HERRERA AND COPEI, LETTING THE LESSER LIGHTS IN AD COUNTERPUCH PERSONALLY WHILE HE DESCRIBES WHAT HE, IN CONCRETE TERMS, PROPOSES TO DO. HIS MESSAGE IS ESSENTIALLY THAT HE WILL DO FEWER THINGS BETTER THAN THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT ALBEIT WITHIN THE BROAD PRAGMATIC OUTLINES OF THE AD PARTY. HERRERA, ON THE OTHER HAND, CONFIDENTIAL

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HAS BEEN ON THE DEFENSIVE IN THE LAST FEW MONTHS. HE ACCUSES PINERUA OF BEING ONLY MORE OF THE SAME, QUESTIONS THE POLLS WHEN HE BEGINS TO FALL BEHIND, STATES ELECTION FRAUD IS A POSSIBILITY GIVEN AD'S AVARICE FOR POWER, AND THEN FAILS TO COME ACROSS WITH A CONVINCING PROGRAM OF HIS OWN. HE EVEN MENTIONS PINERUA'S SLOGAN "CORRECTO" IN HIS OWN PROPAGANDA, VIOLATING ONE OF THE CARDINAL RULES OF POLITICAL WARFARE IN NEVER CITING THE OPPOSITION'S SLOGANS. CLEARLY HIS ADVISERS ARE WORRIED, AND EVEN ADMIT THAT "LUIS" IS HEADSTRONG AND SHOULD START TO PROJECT A POSITIVE SENSE OF LEADERSHIP. THE OTHER CANDIDATES VARY: ARRIA DECRIES THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN WHICH HE WORKED FOR EIGHT YEARS, BUT HAS NO ANNOUNCED PROGRAM BEYOND A VAGUE MIDDLE-OF-THE-ROAD CONSUMERISM, AND PUBLIC DEDICATION TO THE TASKS AT HAND. MAS' JOSE VINCENT RANGEL, WHILE NOT LIGHTING ANY FIRES HIMSELF, DOES SEEM TO BE THE KIND OF FUZZY RESPECTABLE LEFTIST THAT THE VENEZUELAN WHO FEELS HE MUST PROTEST AGAINST THE SYSTEM COULD VOTE FOR, WITHOUT REJECTING THE GOOD MATERIAL LIFE THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH CAN PROVIDE. ON THE OTHER HAND, AMERICO MARTIN, THE MIR CANDIDATE, AND FORMER GUERRILLA, DOES PROJECT THE IMAGE OF

A MORE DEDICATED REVOLUTIONARY WHO WOULD, IF OFFERED POWER, KICK OVER MANY TRACES. THESE ARE TRAITS WHICH MAKE HIM RATHER ATTRACTIVE TO YOUNGER RADICALIZED STUDENTS AND SOME WORKERS. BUT HE LACKS A BROAD PARTY BASE AND HIS VERY HARD-LINE MARXISM IS ANATHEMA TO MOST VENEZUELAN. HECTOR MUJICA, THE PCV CANDIDATE IS A REFRESHING COMMUNIST IN THAT HE HAD ADMITTED HE HAS NO CHANCE, BUT ENJOYS THE RACE FOR THE SAKE OF IT. MEP'S DISTINGUISHED ELDER STATESMAN, "TEACHER" PRIETO GENERATES A SENSE OF RESPECT FROM THE EVERN-DIMINISHING BAND OF FORMER ADECOS WHO COMPRISE MEP. BUT PRIETO IS NEITHER A GENUINE MARXIST, NOR A REAL ALTERNATIVE, AND BESIDES, FOR THE AVERAGE VOTER, THE SCHISMS  
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OF TEN YEARS AGO ARE IRRELEVANT. MONTEIL ORTEGA, THE BREAKAWAY MORENA CHIEFTAIN, IS A CARICATURE OF THE VENEZUELAN POLITICIAN, NEGOTIATING WITH AD WHILE ANNOUNCING HIS OWN CANDIDACY, AND SEEKING FUNDS FROM ANY QUARTER. AND FINALLY, THE URD'S JOVITO VILLABLA, EVER THE OPPORTUNIST, IS VIRTUALLY NEGOTIATING IN PUBLIC WITH COPEI FOR SOME CRUMBS FROM THE GREEN PARTY'S TABLE IN EXCHANGE FOR URD'S SUPPORT. SOME ADECOS CLAIM, RATHER UNKINDLY, THAT IT IS NOT FOR NOTHING THAT URD'S PARTY COLOR IS YELLOW.

#### 4. FINANCES.

RELIABLE ESTIMATES OF MAJOR PARTY FINANCES ARE NOT AVAILABLE. FOR AD, THE EMBASSY HAS HEARD FIGURES FROM \$5 TO \$40 MILLION, WITH ANOTHER \$50 MILLION (A COPEYANO CLAIM) IN THE BUDGET OF THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND TOURISM. COPEI HAS LESS, FROM \$2-10 MILLION. WHILE THE FIGURES VARY, THE ORDERS OF MAGNITUDE ARE RELATIVELY CONSTANT, AND CARACAS, AT LEAST, IS FESTOONED WITH MANY MORE AD THAN COPEYANO POSTERS AND BANNERS. GREATER FINANCIAL RESOURCES ALSO MEAN MORE PUBLICITY IN THEATERS AND ON RADIO AND TV (WITHIN CSE LIMITS, SEE BELOW). FURTHER, IT ALSO MEANS THAT AD CAN AFFORD TO HIRE MORE FULL-TIME WORKERS. ONE AD CAMPAIGN WORKER CLAIMED THE PARTY WILL HAVE 80,000 FULL-TIME CAMPAIGN WORKERS BY SEPTEMBER. OF COURSE, IN ITSELF, MONEY IS NOT THE FINAL ANSWER, BUT IT HELPS.

#### 5. RULES OF THE GAME.

AS THE WATCHDOG OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS, THE SUPREME ELECTORAL (CSE) COUNCIL IS THE CHIEF ARBITER OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. IT HAS PROMULGATED A SERIES OF RULINGS, INCLUDING LIMITATIONS ON THE AMOUNT OF PRESS, RADIO AND TELEVISION PUBLICITY PER DAY, PUBLICITY CARAVANS, USE OF PUBLIC PARKS AND PLAZAS, AND PROHIBITIONS ON GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF ANY CANDIDATES, HOWEVER, THE LATTER PROHIBITION

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HAS NOT PREVENTED THE GOV FROM LAUNCHING A MAJOR CAMPAIGN  
PRAISING ITS OWN ACCOMPLISHMENTS WITH THE SLOGAN "THERE IS  
FULL EMPLOYMENT." NEEDLESS TO SAY, COPEI HAS ANNOUNCED  
THAT THIS INVOLVES DIRECT ILLEGAL INTERFERENCE IN THE  
CAMPAIGN. THE CSE PRESIDENT DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH THE  
GOV INFORMATION MINISTER BUT NO DECISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN  
TO REDUCE GOV PUBLICITY.

IN OTHER MATTERS, THE CSE DECIDED TO PROHIBIT A GROUP OF  
ARRIA SUPPORTERS FROM USING THE SLOGAN "COMMON CAUSE"

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BECAUSE THEY HAD NOT FULFILLED THE REQUIREMENTS TO REGISTER  
AS A POLITICAL PARTY. WHILE ARRIA HAS OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED  
HIS CANDIDACY ON THE BANNER OF THE RECOGNIZED BUT MINISCULE  
"WORKERS MOVEMENT" HE WOULD RATHER RUN ON HIS OWN BANNER.  
HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGER CLAIMS HE WILL BE ABLE TO OBTAIN THE  
NEEDED 25,000 SIGNATURES BY JULY 31. IN ADDITION, ON JUNE 16  
INTERIOR MINISTER LEPAGE FORMALLY REQUESTED THE CSE TO:  
A) CANCEL THE CSE'S PREVIOUS APPROVAL FOR THE FAR-LEFT  
"SOCIALIST LEAGUE" (LS) TO FUNCTION IN SIX STATES:  
B) DENY LS SUCH RECOGNITION IN FIVE OTHER STATES AND  
THE FEDERAL DISTRICT AND TO SUSPEND THE REGISTRATION PROCESS  
OF THE LS IN THESE AREAS; AND C) TO DENY THE LS STATUS

AS A NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY. LEPAGE CITED MASSIVE FRAUD ON BOTH THE STATE AND NATIONAL LEVELS AS THE JUSTIFICATION FOR HIS REQUESTS, INCLUDING USE OF FALSE AND EXPIRED IDENTITY CARDS, FALSE NAMES, REGISTRATION OF MINORS AND DEAD PERSONS, FORGED SIGNATURES AND SIGNATURES BY ILLITERATES, AND USE OF FOREIGNERS' NAMES.

IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE RULES OF THE GAME IN 1978 ARE APPLIED VERY STRICTLY BY THE GOV TO THE LS, WHICH IS A FRONT GROUP OF THE "ORGANIZACION DE REVOLUCIONARIOS" (OR), ONE OF THREE GUERRILLA GROUPS. THE GOV HAD PUT THE SCREWS TO THE LS, CLOSING DOWN EIGHT OF ITS REGIONAL OFFICES

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LAST YEAR (77 CARACAS A157). A CSE OFFICIAL INFORMED US THAT THERE WAS, INDEED, EVIDENCE OF MASSIVE FRAUD BY THE LS IN ITS RATHER HAM-HANDED ENDEAVORS TO REGISTER LEGALLY. THE OFFICIAL SAID, IN ADDITION, THAT THE REQUESTS OF TWO OTHER FAR-LEFT GROUPS, THE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION GROUP (GAR), AND THE COMMUNIST UNITARIAN VANGUARD (VCU) TO BECOME LEGAL PARTIES HAVE NOT BEEN CHALLENGED BY THE GOV. AS WATCHDOG THE CSE IS IN A DIFFICULT POSITION SINCE ITS GOVERNING BODY IS COMPOSED OF POLITICAL LAWYERS FROM THE PARTIES. WHILE FEW BELIEVE THAT SUBSTANTIAL FRAUD WILL BE ATTEMPTED, OR PERMITTED, ITS RULINGS OFTEN HAVE DIRECT POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES FOR SPECIFIC CANDIDATES, AND ITS MEMBERS MUCH OBEY TWO MASTERS, THEIR PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR SENSE OF POLITICAL EQUITY, NOT ALWAYS AN EASY TASK.

#### 6. FOREIGN INFLUENCES.

NO CURRENT SURVEY OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN WOULD BE COMPLETE WITHOUT A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF THE ROLE OF FOREIGN MEDIA ADVISORS AND OF THE RECENT FUROR OVER THE LEAD OF USG BRIEFING PAPERS. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, AD, COPEI AND ARRIA ARE EMPLOYING FOREIGN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN ADVISORS AND WHILE THE LEFT HAS DENOUNCED THEIR PRESENCE AS INTERFERENCE, THEIR PRESENCE IS NOW ACCEPTED BY MOST PEOPLE AS INEVITABLE IF NOT ALTOGETHER DESIRABLE. AND, IN FACT, ALTHOUGH MAS HAD BEEN VEHEMENT IN ITS CRITICISM OF SUCH ADVISORS, IT IS RUMORED THAT MAS HAD HIRED SOME PCI EXPERTS FROM ITALY TO ASSIST ITS CAMPAIGN. THE ADVISORS THEMSELVES REFUSE INTERVIEWS AND MAINTAIN THE LOWEST OF PROFILES.

THE MAJOR NEWS LAST WEEK WAS THE AFTERSHOCKS OF THE UPI AFFAIR IN WHICH THAT AGENCY (CARACAS 5339) OBTAINED

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CALSSIFIED USG BRIEFING PAPERS AND QUOTED FROM THEM TO THE EFFECT THAT PINERUA WAS A LACKLUSTER CANDIDATE FACING MOUNTING PROBLEMS OF INFLATION, CORRUPTION, AND WASTE. WHEN PEREZ MADE THE STORY FRONT-PAGE NEWS BY STATING IT WAS AN OUTRIGHT INSULT TO ALL VENEZUELAN, HERRERA AND THE COPEYANOS TOOK UP THE CUDGELS, DENIED IT AMOUNTED TO INTERFERENCE, MUCH LESS AN INSULT, BUT RATHER MERELY CONSTITUTED THE SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH. WHILE THE RELEASE PUT THE USG IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CAMPAIGN, AND CERTAINLY LEFT A RESIDUE OF BITTERNESS WITH PEREZ AND PROBABLY PINERUA, IT HAS VIRTUALLY DISAPPEARED FROM THE NEWS THIS WEEK, AND EVEN HERRERA HAS STOPPED REFERRING TO IT, POSSIBLY BECAUSE, ON SECOND THOUGHT, HE TOO REALIZED THAT OVERPLAYING THE ISSUE WOULD DAMAGE HIM IN THE EYES OF THE VOTER. IT IS ONE THING WHEN A VENEZUELAN CANDIDATE CRITICIZES DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, BUT QUITE ANOTHER TO QUOTE THE USG FAVORABLY TO THE SAME EFFECT.

7. COMMENT: THE MAJOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE CAMPAIGN AT THIS TIME IS THAT PINERUA IS SLIGHTLY AHEAD IN THE POLLS, GENERATING A SENSE OF CONCERN ON THE PART OF COPEI, AND CONVERSELY SELF-CINFIDENCE IN THE AD CAMP. ONCE THE PARTY PROGRAMS ARE PROMULGATED, AND DEPENDING ON FURTHER DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS, MOST PARTICULARLY THOSE INVOLVING BREAD AND BUTTER ISSUES SUCH AS INFLATION AND BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES, THE RACE COULD STILL BE CLOSE. INDEED, PINERUA COULD FALTER IN THE STRETCH, PARTICULARLY IF THOSE DRIVING THE BIG "WHITE" MACHINE BECOME OVERCONFIENT. BUT AS THE RACE MOVES INTO THE BACKSTRETCH, IN THE EMBASSY'S JUDGMENT, THE NOD HAS TO GO CLEARLY, IF NOT YET CONCLUSIVELY, TO LUIS PINERUA ORDAZ.  
CROWLEY

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